

# FROM FLOODS TO TOURISM: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF EXISTING AND POTENTIAL SCHOLARSHIP ON MACEDONIAN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

## OD POPLAVA DO TURIZMA: KRITIČKA OCJENA POSTOJEĆIH I POTENCIJALNIH ISTRAŽIVANJA O MAKEDONSKOJ POVIJESTI OKOLIŠA

**Aleksandar ŠOPOV (Aleksandar SHOPOV)**

Binghamton University (SUNY),  
Department of History  
ashopov@binghamton.edu

Received / Priljeno: 23. 2. 2023.

Accepted / Prihvaćeno: 21. 12. 2024.

Pregledni rad / Review

UDK / UDC: [502.1+504] (497.7)

[502.12+502.2] (497.7)“.../20”(091)

**Darko STOJANOV**

darko.leitner.stojanov@outlook.com

**Petar TODOROV**

Institute of National History,  
University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Skopje  
todorovpetar@yahoo.com

**Josef M. DJORDJEVSKI**

University of California, San Diego  
josef.djordjevski@gmail.com

### Summary

*While Balkan Environmental History has grown in recent years and produced important studies, the field is still rather nascent in Macedonian Historiography, which has been generally concerned with studies of empire, nation-building, and political economy. The broader Region of Macedonia, however, including the ancient Roman Provinces, the recently renamed Republic of North Macedonia, along with the eponymous region in Northern Greece, is ripe with possibilities for further explorations relevant to the environmental history of Southeastern Europe. We contend that existing studies on the aforementioned topics also present several possibilities for reframing and utilizing with an environmental historical lens. This paper therefore seeks to assess the state of the field and to propose possibilities for further engagement and new approaches. We divide up the subject matter of current and potential scholarship into three different time periods; late antiquity, the Early Modern and Ottoman, and Modern (including socialist and post-socialist) periods of Macedonian history, along with three different major categories of study: natural disasters, migration and movement, and environmental management. These three categories represent the greatest possibilities for studying Macedonian environmental history by examining continuations and interconnections, providing cohesion in current and future studies, and pointing to a potential narrative for the history of the Macedonian Region's environment.*

**Keywords:** Macedonia, environmental history, Southeastern Europe, natural disasters, migration, environmental management

**Ključne riječi:** Makedonija, povijest okoliša, Jugoistočna Europa, prirodne katastrofe, migracije, upravljanje okolišem

### INTRODUCTION

Our research and collaboration has shown that environmental history in the Republic of North Macedonia is at a nascent stage, and currently does not exist as a separate, conspicuously defined field.

There are no courses devoted to environmental history in the country's universities, few publications dedicated specifically to environmental history, and a lack of programs and opportunities for the collaborative academic work needed to foster growth in the field.

Despite these shortcomings, we contend that there are two major areas in which environmental history on Macedonian topics can be fostered. Firstly, given the cross-disciplinary nature of environmental history, we find that existing publications outside of the field of environmental history proper can provide useful opportunities for further engagement by being examined and utilized through an ecohistorical lens. These include publications in social and economic history, agricultural and geographical studies, archaeology, and several others. Secondly, we find that the field can develop around 3 major periods, with 3 major topics that tie together the environmental contingencies and trajectories of the Macedonian region's history. These are the ancient period, the early to late Ottoman period, and the "modern" period, or the span between the interwar years and the socialist to post-socialist phases of nation building. Within this broad periodization, three major topics that emerge as thematically cohesive points of inquiry are natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, diseases), migration and movement (including agricultural catalysts), and environmental management (including tourism and urbanization).

Before offering a brief discussion on the existing literature and our potential topics for furthering environmental studies from a historical perspective, it is important to define the parameters within which we are working on "Macedonian Environmental History." Macedonian environmental history presents both a challenge as well as an opportunity due to its geopolitical circumstances and historical directions. The current Republic of North Macedonia encompasses a geopolitical unit that has only existed since 1945. From a deeper, *long durée* perspective, Macedonian history is the history of a broader region that includes the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia, the Roman and Ottoman administrative regions, various monarchies, and the national periods of no less than 5 states (Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Serbia, and North Macedonia) with a constant influx of ethnolinguistic and religious groups. Therefore, topics in the environmental history of Macedonia will need to be especially sensitive to inter-regional and transnational frameworks, and will need to undergo even more effort than other states in the Balkans to move away from traditional national histories. Just to highlight the decentered nature of potential topics in Macedonian environmental history, the Republic of North Macedonia's three major bodies of freshwater, Lakes Ohrid, Prespa, and Dojran, are all shared with neighboring states (Greece and/or Albania). While this is a particular challenge for environmental management in the region, it is also a potential roadblock for academic studies in terms of the funding and knowledge of multiple languages needed to approach a full exegetic analysis of sources in various national archives. However, as the following discussion demonstrates, we also believe that the interconnected nature of Macedonian environmental history from a regional perspective presents a significant and unique opportunity for collaborative scholarship, and that therefore, the conditions for advancing the field on Macedonian regional topics are highly present.

## **APPROACHING LATE ANCIENT MACEDONIA FROM THE ASPECT OF ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY: POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS**

Whether one approaches Macedonia as the contemporary state or as the quite larger Roman province, a wider geographical contextualization of the source material is necessary. Not only because the available data for an environmental history of the region is somewhat limited, but also due to the small extent of the region. In relation to the first point, it is worth stressing that relevant information from written sources is limited when it comes to Late Antiquity in Macedonia, in general. The few mentions by contemporary or later chroniclers and historians often do not paint a full picture of an important event or process, and should not be approached in isolation. Epigraphy is not as much interested in the environment, as it is in personal lives, religion or administration. The contribution by archaeology, however, can be detrimental to the development of the concept of environmental history, when it comes to Late Antique Macedonia.

Therefore, whatever literary data we have should be put in relation with archaeological data. Archaeological excavation in the territory of the R. of North Macedonia has often offered information on the nature surrounding Roman towns (e.g. changes in river beds, lake shores), which can be further studied in relation to the human communities. In some neighboring areas, such as today's Greek Macedonia, i.e. the larger part of the province of Macedonia Prima, archaeological data on natural surroundings is even richer and available in several languages.

In the R. of North Macedonia, the idea of an environmental history in general and of environmental history of the region in particular, is quite new. The same is valid when it comes to the ancient and medieval periods. Local historians of Antiquity and Middle Ages, which are not many, mostly deal with political and military history and less with social and cultural history. However, in those frames, there is a long tradition among medievalists, who often used a regional approach to writing history, to begin their studies with surveys of the geography and climate of the respective region. Although these texts are small parts of their publications and never properly analyzed or contextualized in terms of environmental history, they do actually provide valuable data coming from geography, geology, hydrology etc. That is to say that although there is no tradition of writing environmental history in Macedonia, there is however a certain basis and potential in the existing literature (e.g., Tomo Tomovski, *Makedonija niz vekovite*, 1995; Kosta Adzиеvski, *Pelagonija vo sredniot vek*, 1994; Boban Petrovski, *Polog vo sredniot vek*).

Apart from the limitations of the existing research tradition, the sources of the period offer the opportunity for developing several new study directions. The depopulation of different smaller regions in or adjacent to Macedonia is mentioned by late antique authors. Malchus of Philadelphia writes about the (unsuccessful) efforts by the central government to settle Theodoric's Goths in Dardania in the 479, a region described as deserted by much of its population due to long-term economic difficulties and barbarian incursions throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> century and with effects on production capacities, urbanism and landscape. Furthermore, depopulation in Macedonia towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of the intensified Avar and Slav invasions, can be followed in numerous literary sources as well as in archaeology (e.g. Theophylact Symocata, the Miracles of Saint Demetrios). Earthquakes are a constant part of life in Macedonia up to this day. While studies of earthquakes in the late antique eastern Mediterranean are by now abundant, there is not much to be read in Macedonian language. However, there is the catastrophic earthquake of 518, registered in the Chronique of Count Macellinus, stressing the destruction of Scupi (Skopje) as well as many other settlements in the wider region. Finally, there are the epidemics of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, that coupled with the civil wars and the barbarians incursions of the time, have had a strong impact on the province of Macedonia (as elsewhere in the Empire).

To sum up, when it comes to late antique Macedonia, there is the potential to develop the study of environmental history by focusing on the following, as a starting point:

- enlarging the geographical scope and offering regional contextualization,
- correlating history with archaeology
- using the old tradition of writing geographical and climatic introductions to regional histories, in order to re-think and re-conceptualize existing scholarship
- develop new research, starting with the following topics: earthquakes, epidemics and depopulation.

## **ASSESSMENT OF EXISTING LITERATURE AND FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR EXPANSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY ON TOPICS DURING THE EARLY AND LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD IN THE MACEDONIAN REGION**

The Macedonian historiography of the Ottoman period may have come closer to what today we today call Environmental history. Historians such as Metodoja Sokolov and Aleksandar Stojanovski studied Ottoman tax survey and produced work on salt production, the guarding of mountain passes and

rice farmers. Some of this work was straightforward translation of the Ottoman archival documents like a 1983 commentary and translation of the 16 century Ottoman tax surveys of the province of Kustendil.

Unlike the ancient and medieval pasts where Macedonian historians in the post-WWII period searched for some kind of political continuity, the Ottoman past was not treated as such by the small number of Macedonian Ottomanists who were left to do more meticulous archival work on the social and economic processes in the Ottoman period.

The historiography on Ottoman Macedonia between 1940s until today written in Macedonian language shown the transformation of countryside, the arrival of new crops such as rice and those from the Americas and even explored the history of Ottoman mining. We should also mention here several studies on the production of saltpeter and gunpowder as Macedonia became an important supply center in the 16th century. These are the works of:

Djurdjica Petrović and Dušanka Bojanić Lukač, "Dobijanje Šalitre u Makedoniji od Polovine. XVI do polovine XIX veka," *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA* 10 (1964), 28

Milka Zdraveva, "Der Abbau von Schwefel und Salpeter in Makedonien zur Zeit der osmanischen Herrschaft und deren Verarbeitung zu Schwarzpulver," *Südost-Forschungen* 39 (1980), 105-115.

A small contribution to this emerging field of inquiry by Aleksandar Šopov is the study of migrant gardeners from Macedonia and Albania in Istanbul creating new environments in the city's produce gardens, along with the study of the effects on the environment with the establishment of rice growing in the 15 and 16 centuries. Future directions, additionally, could be to write environmental histories that reflect the mobility of people, plants and animals in the large ottoman geography stretching between the Adriatic and Indian Ocean.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Macedonian historians working on topics of regional history always dedicated a small section on physical and geographical characteristics of the studied region.<sup>1</sup> In the introductory parts of these studies we can read the basic geographical definition of the region, hydrology, climate, basic economic activities (agriculture, stock breeding, etc.). However, many aspects of environmental history are ignored. There are several publications dealing with the question of çiftliks from aspect of Marxist historiography.

In the 19th c. Macedonia (today Bulgaria, Greece and N. Macedonia) many sources (ottoman sources, travelogues, journals, memoires, etc) also define the geographical characteristics of the region, climate, economic activities and other human activities related to the environment. For example the French geologist Ami Boué in detail describes the situation with the food production and the lack of new technologies in food production. On the other side, like in the earlier period of the Ottoman history we note the introduction of new cultures, such as cotton. Some cultures, such as rice, were abandoned due to health reasons. Namely, the large fields of rice were considered to be a source of malaria during the hot summers, thus posing a danger for public health.

As in the earlier centuries of Ottoman history, the mobility of people is still an important element of the everyday life of the people of Macedonia. Large groups of people from regions of Bitola (Monastir), Kastoria, Florina, Prespa, Ohrid were migrating to Istanbul where they worked in the Istanbul gardens (detailed informations can be found in the defters from the end of 19 c. and beginning of the 20th c.).

Future directions could be to write the environmental histories that reflect the human activities, the intervention and policies of the ottoman states concerning the public health, economic growth, food production and migrations. Given the fact that the 19th c. was the century when new technologies were introduced, research on railway and industry and their effects on the environment should be also examined.

<sup>1</sup> See for example. *Ohrid i Ohridsko niz istorijata*, eds. Tomo Tomoski, Ljuben Lape, Aleksandar Stojanoski, INI, 1985, 488; *Prilep i Prilepsko niz istorijata*, vol.1, Eds. Mihajlo Apostolski, Boshko Babic, Orde Ivanovski, Ljuben Lape, INI, 1971, 324

## OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOCIALIST AND POST-SOCIALIST PERIODS FOR THE EXPLORATION OF MACEDONIAN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORIES

When it comes to the environmental history of the socialist and post-socialist periods of Macedonia, it is important to view this period as a radical shift from the previous eras we have discussed, with national and socio-economic development taking on an accelerated character. But despite these drastic changes, we can see that—like in the other periods we have examined—natural disasters, migrations, and environmental management apply to these more recent periods as well, and also help show continuities in a longer narrative of Macedonian environmental history. We will highlight this by focusing specifically on the potential of the history of tourism and its development to provide a framework for examining the environmental history of the Macedonian region since 1945.

Just for context, tourism in the wider Macedonian region has a mostly recent history, with the Halkidiki Peninsula of Greek Macedonia having attracted visitors since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but even this was very limited until the post-World War 2 period. Tourism really began to expand in both the Yugoslav and Greek parts of Macedonia in the 1970s and 1980s, which coincided with more widespread environmental awareness, and throughout the region, tourism was viewed as a more sustainable and viable alternative to development in fragile environments, especially places like forests, lakes and rivers.

In the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM), like in other parts of Yugoslavia, tourism was seen as a serious and vital sector for spurring on development as seen by tourism's success on the Adriatic coast. The main targeted locales for developing tourism, which in turn led to increased urbanization and environmental transformations, were the lakes and lakeside towns like Ohrid, Struga, Dojran, and Prespa, for mainly leisure tourism. Popova Šapka was also designated for outdoor tourism, and recent developments in "green" and "agrotourism" in places like the Kavadarci vineyards, or the hiking trails in the Pelister and Galičica national parks seem to offer an alternative to the shoreline-based mass tourism of previous decades. The recent national tourism slogan, *Macedonia Timeless*, however, has lots of environmental connotations with both the built and natural environments of North Macedonia being promoted and commodified as sites waiting to be explored by especially foreign visitors.

Most of the existing literature on Macedonian tourism is specialist in nature, with the Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality-Ohrid producing numerous studies on tourism, with lots of publications on possibilities for further tourism development, and surveys of existing conditions. Most of this literature is, however, concerned with suggestions for policies to encourage further tourism growth, promoting tourism, or to examine the current state of tourism, rather than to historicize the processes of tourism's development and its environmental impacts.

However, there is also some literature that discusses the historical interconnections between nature, culture, and the development of tourism that can be incorporated into environmental histories. For example, a book by Stojan Pribičević called *Macedonia: It's People and its History* published in the US in 1982 presents a long national narrative of Macedonia, but it also takes into account environmental factors of the region and how they have recently, at least at the time of writing, began to be exploited for touristic purposes. Also, there is a wealth of literature published for touristic purposes, mostly travel guides, that give detailed introductions on history and culture, and provide information on the connection between tourism and the environment, one such source is published in 1969 and authored by Jovan Popovski simply titled *Macedonia*.

So, while these types of pieces of literature are useful for use from the perspective of ecohistory, current scholarship on environmental history during the socialist period is rather scant and lacking in the historiography overall, including on tourism history topics. Despite this, a focus on tourism presents a great opportunity for Macedonian environmental history since tourism is so dependent upon the environment, and fragile locales like Ohrid, which is also a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1980, continue to both attract visitors while at the same time being threatened by them. Josef Djordjevski's small upcoming contribution to this field is a study on how the UNESCO designation has affected Ohrid in comparison with other former Yugoslav UNESCO sites Dubrovnik in Croatia and Kotor in Montenegro.

Other potential areas of study during the “modern” period however include the Skopje earthquake of 1963. Just for some background, on January 26<sup>th</sup> 1963 an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.9 on the Richter scale occurred, which is actually relatively low, but still mainly due to infrastructure and dense population it killed over one-thousand people, injured more than 3 thousand, and left about 75% of the population homeless. It also had severe economic impacts and led to a new awareness among the governments of socialist Macedonia and Yugoslavia about earthquake impacts and responses. Additionally, it led to a dramatic shift in the urban landscape of Skopje. While any *specifically* environmental histories on Macedonian natural disasters in more recent times are largely absent in the historiography, there is actually a wealth of literature on this specific topic. But most of the literature on the Skopje earthquake approaches the event and its legacies from an architectural or physical and geological sciences perspective, but again, we see the usefulness of incorporating such literature into environmental history approaches. Additional topics are the process of industrialization and urbanization on a broader scale: including rapid development under socialism, as well as problems in pollution. This is especially the case with Skopje and the Polog valley of North Macedonia, which borders Kosovo, having recorded for multiple years to have among the worst air quality in the entire Southeastern European region.

## CONCLUSION

We have demonstrated the state of and some of the the possibilities for pursuing and developing environmental history of and in the Macedonian region, with special regard to the Republic of North Macedonia, where the field is at its most fledgling state. In addition to our small personal contributions and membership in the European Society for Environmental History, we would also plan to begin the process of making a more hands-on approach to expanding the field of environmental history in the region of Macedonia/North Macedonia. We hope to establish a regional workshop or conference on this topic for further collaboration and hope to continue our collaboration as we stay in contact with our colleagues from neighboring countries and countries of the former Yugoslavia to help make this possible. There is a reason we are sharing our work on Macedonian environmental history in this particular volume, and that is because there are multiple levels of interconnection between our work and the work of scholars throughout the Southeastern European region. North Macedonia and its environmental history are connected to the rest of the macroregion from physical environmental standpoints, but also from political and cultural ones as well.

## SAŽETAK

Iako se povijest okoliša Balkana posljednjih godina razvija i donosi važne studije, to je istraživačko polje u makedonskoj historiografiji još uvijek u začetku, koja je tradicionalno bila usmjerena ponajprije na istraživanja carstava, izgradnje nacije i političke ekonomije. Šira regija Makedonije, koja obuhvaća antičke rimske provincije, današnju Republiku Sjevernu Makedoniju te istoimenu regiju u sjevernoj Grčkoj, nudi pritom znatan potencijal za daljnja istraživanja relevantna za okolišnu povijest Jugoistočne Europe. Autori polaze od stava da postojeće studije o navedenim temama već sada pružaju brojne mogućnosti za reinterpretaciju i novu uporabu iz perspektive okolišne povijesti. Cilj rada stoga je procijeniti trenutačno stanje istraživanja te predložiti mogućnosti za daljnji razvoj i nove istraživačke pristupe. Analiza je strukturirana prema tri vremenska razdoblja — kasnoj antici, ranom novom vijeku i osmanskom razdoblju te modernom razdoblju (uključujući socijalističko i postsocijalističko razdoblje) makedonske povijesti — kao i prema trima glavnim tematskim kategorijama: prirodne katastrofe, migracije i kretanja te upravljanje okolišem. Ove tri kategorije označene su kao najperspektivnije za proučavanje makedonske povijesti okoliša jer omogućuju uočavanje kontinuiteta i međusobnih povezanosti, doprinose koheziji postojećih i budućih istraživanja te upućuju na mogući narativ povijesti okoliša makedonske regije.

*Economic- and Ecohistory*

*Ekonomska i ekohistorija*

Journal for Economic History and Environmental History

Časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša

---

Topic / Tema broja

Environmental histories of western  
southeastern Europe: historiographical surveys  
of Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija, Bosnia and  
Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia

*Povijesti okoliša zapadnog dijela jugoistočne Europe:  
historiografski pregledi Srbije, Kosova i Metohije, Bosne i  
Hercegovine, Crne Gore i Makedonije*

Volume XX / Number 20

Zagreb – Samobor 2024

ISSN 1845-5867

UDK 33 + 9 + 504.3

**Publishers / Nakladnici:**

Društvo za hrvatsku ekonomsku povijest i ekohistoriju  
*Society for Croatian Economic History and Environmental History*  
Ivana Lučića 3, HR – 10000 Zagreb  
[sites.google.com/site/ekoekohist/](https://sites.google.com/site/ekoekohist/)

Izdavačka kuća Meridijani  
p.p. 132, 10430 Samobor  
tel.: 01/33-62-367, faks: 01/33-60-321  
e-mail: [meridijani@meridijani.com](mailto:meridijani@meridijani.com)  
[www.meridijani.com](http://www.meridijani.com)

**Co-publisher / Sunakladnik:** Ekohistorijski laboratorij Centra za inovativne studije Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu Ivana Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska [www.ffzg.unizg.hr](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr); <http://ckhis.ffzg.unizg.hr/>

**Editor-in-chief / Glavni i odgovorni urednik:**  
Hrvoje Petrić

**Guest Co-Editor / Gost su-urednik:**  
Žiga Zwitter

**Editorial Staff / Uredništvo:**

Željko Holjevac, Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević, Dubravka Mlinarić, Nenad Moačanin, Hrvoje Petrić, Drago Roksandić, Mirela Slukan Altić, Ivica Šute, Žiga Zwitter

**International Editorial Board / Međunarodno uredničko vijeće:**

Drago Roksandić – president/predsjednik (*Zagreb*), Daniel Barić (*Sorbonne-Paris, Francuska*), Marija Benić Penava (*Dubrovnik*), Slaven Bertoša (*Pula*), Zrinka Blažević (*Zagreb*), Tatjana Buklijaš (*Auckland, New Zealand*), Ljiljana Dobrovšak (*Zagreb*), Goran Đurđević (*Beijing/Peking, NR Kina*), Josip Faričić (*Zadar*), Borna Fürst Bjeliš (*Zagreb*), Boris Golec (*Ljubljana, Slovenija*), Hrvoje Gračanin (*Zagreb*), Paul Hirt (*Tempe, SAD*), Andrej Hozjan (*Maribor, Slovenija*), Egidio Ivetic (*Padova, Italija*), Silvije Jerčinović (*Križevci*), Isao Koshimura (*Tokio, Japan*), Marino Manin (*Zagreb*), Christof Mauch (*München, Njemačka*), Kristina Milković (*Zagreb*), Ivan Mirnik (*Zagreb*), Mirjana Morosini Dominick (*Washington D.C., SAD*), Géza Pálffy (*Budimpešta, Mađarska*), Daniel Patafta (*Zagreb*), Hrvoje Petrić (*Zagreb*), Lajos Rácz (*Szeged, Mađarska*), Gordana Ravančić (*Zagreb*), Marko Šarić (*Zagreb*), Mladen Tomorad (*Zagreb*), Milan Vrbanus (*Slavonski Brod, Zagreb*), Frank Zelko (*Honolulu, SAD*), Zlata Živaković Kerže (*Osijek*), Matija Zorn (*Ljubljana*), Ivana Žebec Šilj (*Zagreb*)

**Article's UDC markups / UDK oznake članaka:**  
Ivica Zvonar

**Layout / Prijelom:**  
Saša Bogadi

**Journal directors / Za nakladnike:**  
Petra Somek, Hrvoje Petrić, Domagoj Tončinić

ISSN 1849-0190 (Online) ISSN 1845-5867 (Tisak)

**Print by / Tisak:**  
Bogadigrafika, Koprivnica 2024.

**Mailing addresses / Adresa uredništva:**  
Hrvoje Petrić (editor/urednik)  
Odsjek za povijest, Filozofski fakultet  
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb  
e-mail: [hrvoje.petric@ffzg.hr](mailto:hrvoje.petric@ffzg.hr)  
ili Vinka Vošickog 5, HR-48000 Koprivnica

**Print partially supported by the City of Koprivnica**  
**Tiskano uz djelomičnu potporu Grada Koprivnice**

**Cover / Na naslovnici:**

The Mratinje dam, photo by I. Laković / *Brana Mratinje, foto I. Laković*

Ekonomsku i ekohistoriju referiraju:  
CAB Abstracts  
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS, ABC CLIO Library, Santa Barbara, California, USA  
AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE, Washington, USA  
JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC LITERATURE (JEL), Pittsburgh, USA  
CENTRAL AND EASTERN ONLINE LIBRARY, Frankfurt am Main, Deutschland  
ECONLIT – AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, Nashville, USA